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NINETY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

NINETY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY *

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Presented at the Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C.,
May 26, 1922

THE PURPOSE

THE PURPOSE of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a governed world.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the Society is open to all persons in agreement with the purposes of the Society.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

The Society publishes *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* monthly at two dollars per year, as well as other literature the price-list of which may be secured upon application.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars.

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. Andrew J. Montague, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

Arthur Deerin Call, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, Washington, D. C.

* Founded at New York in 1828; incorporated at Boston in 1848; headquarters moved to Washington, D. C., in 1911.

"At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828, but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd, May 8, 1828, and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: 'The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place.'"

Treasurer:

George W. White, President of National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

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Hon. James L. Slayden, Member Council Interparliamentary Union, San Antonio, Texas.

Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Lawyer, Washington, D. C.

Hon. Theodore E. Burton, former President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Miami, Florida.

Executive Committee:

Hon. Andrew J. Montague, *ex officio*.

Arthur Deerin Call, *ex officio*.

George W. White, *ex officio*.

President, Secretary, and Treasurer, *ex officio*.

Hon. P. P. Claxton, ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C.

Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, D. C.

Jay T. Stocking, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Prof. Arthur Ramsay, President Fairmont Seminary, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Thomas E. Green, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Theodore Stanfield, 126 West 74th Street, New York City.

Hon. Frank W. Mondell, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

George A. Finch, Esq., Secretary of Board of Editors and Business Manager American Journal of International Law, Washington, D. C.

Paul Sleman, Esq., Secretary American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Charles Cheney Hyde, 808 Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

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Lyman Abbott, 287 4th Avenue, New York.

Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, Winthrop Center, Maine.

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Gilbert Bowles, 30 Koun Machi, Mita Shiba, Tokyo, Japan.

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Pres. M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Pres. C. F. Thwing, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pres. Mary E. Woolley, South Hadley, Mass.

Report of the President

Under the provisions of the Society's constitution, your President respectfully submits the following report:

THE WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee has held nine regular meetings during the year. Mr. George Perry Morris, for a number of years Assistant Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, died June 12, 1921, and Mr. J. W. Owens, of the *Baltimore Sun*, was elected to fill this vacancy. Mr. Owens has served during the year. Miss Virginia Miller has been elected Office Secretary, which position she now fills. Mr. William Knowles Cooper found it necessary during the year to resign as a member of the Executive Committee. Dr. J. T. Stocking, of the Executive Committee, represented the Society at the meetings of the Peace Conference held in London, August 10 to 13, 1921, and Messrs. Ralston, Stanfield, and Ramsay have been authorized to represent the American Peace Society at the twenty-second International Peace Congress to be held in London, July 25 to 30 next.

Mr. Ralston has contributed to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* a series of suggestive articles on certain implications of international law, and Mr. Theodore Stanfield, also of the Executive Committee, has written an article for the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* entitled, "The Divided States of Europe and the United States of America," and another entitled, "Let the Washington Conference Inaugurate a System of Periodic International Conferences." The Executive Committee has given permission to these gentlemen to republish these articles either in pamphlet or book form.

A committee, composed of Messrs. Finch, Ralston, and Green, has drafted and offered to the Society and its Board of Directors for approval a revision of the Society's constitution, bringing that instrument more in conformity with the actual practice of the Society.

The President and Secretary, the former as First Vice-President of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, and the latter as Executive Secretary of that body, attended the nineteenth conference of the Interparliamentary Union held in Stockholm, Sweden, August 16 to 19, 1921. Your Secretary also spent some time in Geneva attending the meetings of the League of Nations, and in Luxemburg as a delegate to the twenty-first International Peace Congress.

There are evidences that the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* continues its beneficent influence in the direction of opinion, private and official, in this country and abroad.

During the Conference on the Limitation of Armament held in Washington November 11, 1921, to February 6, 1922, your Executive Committee circularized all of the delegations with documents of the Society, including the current numbers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Upon request of the government, your committee ascertained the views of the Society's membership relative to an Association of Nations and to the use of submarines and poison gas. The results of this inquiry were turned over to the proper governmental authorities.

Upon the direction of the Executive Committee, the Secretary prepared a pamphlet of eighty pages, entitled,

"The Federal Convention of 1787: An International Conference Adequate to Its Purpose," containing illustrations, maps, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States, published by Rand, McNally and Company, and already over 20,000 requests for this pamphlet have been received. The edition of 25,000 will soon be exhausted. The Executive Committee believes that this document, with its introduction by James Brown Scott and its outline of the aims and methods of the American Peace Society, is a genuine contribution to right thinking.

FINANCES

Your President is glad to report that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has continued its grant during the current year to the American Peace Society of a sum equal to its income from other sources not to exceed \$15,000. The Endowment has also voted to repeat this offer for the year beginning July 1, 1922.

In addition to the facts set forth in our Treasurer's report, your President is pleased to call attention to the following self-explanatory correspondence with the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund. Under date of May 8, 1922, Arthur H. Russell, Esq., of Russell, Moore and Russell, Counsellors at Law, 27 State Street, Boston, Treasurer of the Permanent Peace Fund, wrote the following letter with the accompanying report:

"MY DEAR MR. CALL:

"I take pleasure in advising you that the Annual Meeting of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund was held today, and I was directed to remit to the American Peace Society the balance of income for the year, which is \$5,637.90, making, together with the \$1,000 forwarded to your Society on the tenth day of June, 1921, a total income for the year of \$6,637.90, which, I think, is the best return which the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund have ever been able to make to the American Peace Society and which I am sure will be gratifying to you. I am inclosing herewith receipt, which kindly have signed by your Treasurer and returned to us.

"I submitted your letter of February 1, 1922, to the Trustees, explaining the fact that you would receive from the Carnegie Endowment dollar for dollar for your income from other sources up to and including June 30, 1922, and the Trustees instructed me in my discretion to send you such amount of income for the months of May and June as in my judgment could be safely done, having in view the best interests of the fund in the hands of the Trustees. Under this instruction, I trust I may be able to send you a check for \$1,000 from income for the coming year as I did last year."

BOSTON, May 1, 1922.

To the American Peace Society:

The Treasurer of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund submits the following annual report for the period May 1, 1921, to May 1, 1922:

Gross income received by the Trustees from real estate, bonds, stocks, and all other investments.	\$9,245.66
Gross expenses paid for repairs and taxes on real estate, salary of bookkeeper and agent, legal services, telephone, office rent, supplies, station-	

ery, safe-deposit box, insurance, expenses of trustees attending meetings, etc.....	2,607.76
Net income from the fund for the year.....	\$6,637.90
Paid to the American Peace Society on general account of income on June 10, 1921.....	1,000.00
Balance of net income for the year to be paid to the American Peace Society.....	\$5,637.90
Check herewith to the order of the American Peace Society in full payment for balance of income to date.	

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed)

ARTHUR H. RUSSELL,
Treasurer.

Under date of May 11, 1922, your Secretary wrote to Mr. Russell the following letter:

"MY DEAR MR. RUSSELL:

"Your letter of May 8 is not only encouraging, it is a stimulation, revealing as it does that conscientiousness in unselfish labor out of which the best things in our American life have grown.

"The increase in the income of the Permanent Peace Fund comes at a most happy time, each dollar meaning two dollars in the promotion of the work.

"I hope we shall not be obliged to ask you for the \$1,000, for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has repeated its offer for the year beginning July 1, 1922. You see, therefore, the \$1,000 will come in handy next year.

"Receipt for the \$5,637.90, duly signed by our Treasurer, is inclosed.

"In behalf of our Society, may I ask you to thank the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund for the unsung service they are rendering in behalf of the world's greatest need."

TEN YEARS OF OUR RESERVE FUND

In addition to these facts, your President believes that the Board of Directors will be interested to know the growth in our Reserve Fund during the last ten years:

Year	Market value	Par value
1912.....	\$12,435.00	\$11,000.00
1913.....	13,900.00	14,694.25
1914.....	13,900.00	14,167.50
1915.....	13,900.00	13,685.75
1916.....	13,900.00	13,734.00
1917.....	12,600.00	11,990.00
1918.....	14,700.00	12,648.00
1919.....	14,700.00	13,319.00
1920.....	14,900.00	12,971.50
1921.....	20,400.00	19,316.82
1922.....	27,100.00	27,104.46

TEN YEARS OF SALARIES

The following table shows the Society's expenditures for salaries, beginning in 1912:

1912.....	\$10,920.17
1913.....	17,559.04
1914.....	20,436.94
1915.....	20,404.00
1916.....	17,172.97
1917.....	19,130.35
1918.....	17,696.56
1919.....	10,732.42
1920.....	10,057.64
1921.....	10,934.35
1922.....	10,531.08

A CONCLUDING STATEMENT

Your President would call to the attention of the Society and of the Board of Directors that our Secretary, Mr. Arthur Deerin Call, is just completing his tenth year as an officer of the American Peace Society. William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society, served as its Editor and General Agent until 1837. In 1837 a Congregational clergyman, professor in the theological seminaries of Cincinnati and Andover, Dr. George C. Beckwith, became General Secretary of the Society, a position which he filled with distinguished ability for thirty-three years. Upon his death Dr. Beckwith left a legacy to enable the Society to maintain a permanent office and a salaried Secretary. For a time Elihu Burritt was Secretary of the Society and Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Other Secretaries have been Amasa Lord, D. D., James B. Miles, D. D., Charles Howard Malcolm, D. D., Rev. Howard C. Dunham, Rev. Rolland B. Howard, and for twenty-two years Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL. D. Mr. Call, as Dr. Trueblood's successor, now serves as Secretary of the American Peace Society, Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. He has been faithful, diligent, and able in the discharge of his duties, and many friends of peace in America and throughout the world appreciate his work.

Your President is constrained to suggest the discouraging aspect of peace throughout the world. Notwithstanding the prodigious efforts made in its behalf, when conferences, conciliations, negotiations, and arbitrations seemed to confirm the hope of man in its stability, the most immeasurable conflict of arms of all ages broke upon the world, and it would appear as if peace had come, if from no other cause, through the sheer exhaustion of mankind. But revolutions, wars, and rumors of wars still vex the human race, and cupidity and dishonesty, prejudice and distrust; fear and ambition, imprudence and anger in chancelleries are stimulating the passions that generate wars. If it was ever the duty of man, now is the time to arouse and co-ordinate the intelligent and ethical forces of civilization to combat these destructive and unholy influences and activities.

Respectfully,

ANDREW J. MONTAGUE,
President.

Report of the Secretary

To the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society:

DEAR SIRs: Pursuant to the requirements of the constitution of the American Peace Society, your Secretary respectfully submits the following as his annual report for the year 1921-22:

THE FAILURE OF THE MOVEMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

As graciously stated in the report of our President, your Secretary has attempted to serve as a paid official of the American Peace Society for ten years. Prior to his appointment as Executive Secretary in 1912, he had served six years in a volunteer capacity as President of the Connecticut Peace Society, for a part of which time he was a Representative Director of the American Peace Society.

These sixteen years of connection with the work of the Society have been coincident with fundamental reorganizations within and between nations and with marked changes in the nature of the peace movement itself.

Indeed, there are evidences that during the decade and a half of the peace movement most familiar to your Secretary the prospects for any abiding international peace have dwindled and the work in its behalf failed. When your Secretary began his labors for the American Peace Society, public addresses in behalf of international peace were the vogue; speakers across the country were preaching the horrors of war and the benefits of peace. Peace and arbitration conferences were the order of well-nigh every day. The National Peace Congress held in the city of New York in 1907, referred to as "the most representative non-political gathering ever held in this country," was typical of the general interest in the movement to end war. The annual arbitration conferences begun in 1895 at Mohonk were in their heyday. International peace congresses were largely attended. Pan American conferences, State peace congresses, The Hague Peace conferences of 1899 and 1907, were indications of the widespread interest. The peace movement was widely if variously organized. The various peace societies, multiplying rapidly, were flooding the reading public with books and pamphlets. "Peace Days" were observed generally throughout the churches and the schools. Mr. Carnegie had laid down the plans for a Palace of Peace at The Hague, destined to be dedicated in 1913. The fact that there was only a limited number of cases before the Court of Arbitration, which had been set up in 1899, was thought to be an evidence that the peace movement was "nearing its consummation." From 1899 to 1907 some forty-seven treaties of obligatory arbitration had been signed. A Central American Court of Justice was set up in Carthago; a Bureau of American Republics, later to become the Pan American Union, had been established in Washington. A Swedish gentleman, Alfred Bernhard Nobel, dying in 1896, was found to have provided in his will for an annual prize to be awarded to the one who during the year had done most in the interest of international peace. Great peace endowments were springing into being: The Carnegie

Endowment, with ten million dollars, and the World Peace Foundation, with nearly a million, in 1910; the Church Peace Union, with two million in 1914. The peace movement was thought to be a movement to be reckoned with. With a fine hope, the American Peace Society was organized into field secretaryships; into Branch and Section societies; into Departments in New England, the Central West, the Pacific Coast, and in the South Atlantic States. Having moved to Washington in 1911, it was attempting to federate the American peace agencies, with the result that by 1915 it had 5 "Departments," 34 "Constituent Branch Societies," 21 "Section" societies, 3 affiliated societies, and 10 other organizations, all co-operating, more or less, and all representing a total of some 73 groups.

Then came the war.

Forthwith the peace addresses, the peace congresses, the "Peace Days," the International Courts, the Nobel Prizes, were all for the time abandoned. The loose federation of peace societies, each autonomous in its own field, each with its own beliefs and sentiments, withered before the war spirit and apparently died. The lack of cohesive ideas and of fundamental principles, an over contentment with sentimentalities, the want of well-reasoned policies, showed the peace movement as then conceived and organized incapable of withstanding the storms of war. At least, so it may be said to appear.

Complicating the situation, there developed an influx of new theories of world organization, of bizarre programs. The eternal principles familiar to and pleaded for by the few seemed to disappear from the public consciousness. Ill will, suspicions, jealousies, selfishness, hates, seemed not only to have split the world, but to have raised the hand of every peace-worker against his fellow. Granted that all of the differences of opinion were honest, differences of opinion they remained. So, many argued that the peace movement was dead; indeed, that it ought to be dead. They pointed out that the war itself had taught the world all that the peace movement aimed to teach, a great deal more, and that far more effectively. "The peace movement failed to prevent the war; hence why try to keep it up?" That was the familiar question. "Pacifism" had an honored following before the war. But even now, nearly four years after the armistice, it is the rare person who will admit that he is a "pacifist."

Thus, it may be said, the last decade and a half of the peace movement is a history of misdirected effort, of a quixotic pursuit of an impossible ideal, of an unhappy and tragic failure.

MORE DISCOURAGING STILL

The peace movement presents a still more discouraging fact. The call unto our generation is to fix the world in the ways of peaceable settlement of disputes between nations. But Isaiah, Vergil, Dante, heard the same call unto their generations. Crucé, Grotius, Sully, Penn, heard the same call in the seventeenth century; St. Pierre, Rousseau, Bentham, Kant, in the eighteenth. It is no new call. But because of the devastations of this most destructive of wars, the challenge has come to us of this generation perhaps as never before. If we grant that the loathing of war is now probably more general

than at any time in human history, yet in a few years the devastations will have disappeared. The scarred battlefields will be green, sprinkled with monuments to the heroes of our day, heroes with all their medals and all their glory. The young men of the next generation will see our war in terms of those monuments, of those medals, of that glory. Unless something of very fundamental importance happens, the forces of tomorrow will, as always heretofore, get control of the boys; and those youngsters, fair as were our own, will be easily hypnotized into going forth for the glory and the sacrifices and the deep sorrows of war. Thus, we of this generation are faced with a great challenge. Certain it is that unless the challenge is met, unless we here and now can unite sufficiently to control public sentiment and to support leadership capable of establishing peace through justice between the nations, now before it is too late, another and a more devastating war is as inevitable as fate. There is little unanimity of judgment as to how this work is to be done. We are told on every hand that the challenge is more than man can meet. That is a discouraging fact! The time is out of joint indeed.

THE SEMBLANCE OF HOPE

But time is always out of joint. Hope is as cheap and as reasonable as despair. The will to create a safer and a better world is not dead. As a matter of fact, the peace movement still lives. There are existing organizations working in the interest of international peace. There are special groups as:

- The Academy of Political and Social Science.
- L'Alliance Francaise.
- The American-Scandinavian Society.
- The China Society of America.
- The English Speaking Union.
- The Italy-America Society.
- The Japan Society.
- The National Committee on American-Japanese Relations.
- The National Association for Constitutional Government.

There are organizations devoted more exclusively to the ways of peace between nations, such as:

- The American Association of International Conciliation.
- The American Association for International Co-operation.
- The American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.
- The American Peace Society.
- The American Union against Militarism.
- The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- The Church Peace Union.
- The Committee on Educational Publicity in the Interests of World Peace.
- The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
- The Fellowship of Reconciliation.
- The General Committee on the Limitation of Armament.
- The Institute of International Education.
- The International Chamber of Commerce.
- The International Relations Clubs.

- The International Student Committee for the Limitation of Armament.
- The League of Nations Union.
- The National Council for the Reduction of Armaments.
- The Pan American Union.
- The Peace Associations of Friends in America.
- The Peace Association of Friends of Philadelphia.
- The Peace Committees of various Church Federations.
- The Peace Committees of various Yearly Meetings of Friends.
- The Society for the Abolition of War.
- The Women's International League of Peace and Freedom.
- The World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.
- The World Peace Foundation.

There are many agencies working indirectly for peace between nations; but all of these societies and associations, not to mention our diplomatic and consular service, are actively and continuously at work trying each in its own way to promote the cause of international peace. There is little co-operation between them; just why it is difficult to say. Your Secretary is of the opinion that the time ought to be near at hand for a more common understanding, a greater mutual accommodation, and a renewed extension of a kindlier united effort. In any event, the very existence of these agencies, not to mention their labors, is evidence of the fact that the peace movement in America survives.

AN IMPORTANT FACT

Then there is a very important fact bearing on the work for peace during the last year, a most hopeful fact. The foreign offices of the world are at the business.

There has been held the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament. The formal invitation by Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State, representing the President of the United States, addressed August 11, 1921, to the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, later extended to include China, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal, resulted in the convening of a conference of chosen delegates from each of these nations, acting under instructions, on a plane of equality, aiming to achieve results by unanimous agreements. Called in such a manner, thus made up, conducted according to plan, convened in time of peace to promote peace between the nations represented, dealing with matters of concrete and vital interest, the conditions for success of the conference were as propitious as man has yet been able to devise for such occasions.

The problems were very real. The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan faced the problem of the limitation of armament as between themselves. The nine powers concerned themselves with Pacific and Far Eastern questions. China and Japan aimed to settle their disputes over Shantung. Definite and hopeful results were achieved in each of these three directions.

The conference was a successful international achievement. The Five-Power Pact succeeded in limiting capital ships as for themselves in terms of tonnage, the United States to retain 525,850 tons; the British Empire, 558,950 tons; France, 221,170 tons; Italy, 182,800

tons; Japan, 301,320 tons; representing a total of 1,790,090 tons. Thus, it is evident that by the provisions of this pact the competition between these powers in the building of capital ships has been abandoned. By the terms of the treaty the United States has scrapped 30 ships; the British Empire, 24, including 4 Hoods not laid down and 4 more ships to be scrapped on completion of 2 new ships of 35,000 tons each; and Japan is to scrap 17 ships, including the abandonment of a program of 8 ships not laid down. In short, 71 ships are actually to be scrapped, comprising a tonnage of 1,861,843—"the greatest naval victory of all history." Furthermore, aircraft carriers are limited in tonnage and in gun caliber; war craft smaller than capital ships are limited to 10,000 tons, such ships being limited to guns of 8 inches. The treaty is to remain effective until December 31, 1936, and thereafter unless previously denounced. Beside this accomplishment toward the limitation of armament there is the Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, covering the insular possessions and dominions in the Pacific, calling for conferences and exchange of communications in case of serious international disputes affecting the interests of the contracting parties, and abolishing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, an arrangement which is to last for a period of ten years, and thereafter if not denounced. As a result of the conference, provision has been made for the universal requirement of visit and search, a rule to govern the action of all war vessels, including submarines. There is the agreement to renounce in war the use of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and all analogous liquids, materials, or devices as between themselves, and calling upon all other civilized nations to accept the same prohibition. By the terms of a treaty signed in Washington February 4, 1922, China and Japan came to an agreement relative to the restoration of the leased territory of Kiaochow to China, which restoration has since been made.

Thus for the first time great nations have gone about the business of scrapping and limiting their armaments. Thus, the approved methods of successful international conferences have come to light again. It has been demonstrated that nations can co-operate with one another on a peace basis. A serious tension between the nations most vitally interested in the Pacific has been relieved. The door to the future has been opened, at least a little.

The chief contribution of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament is its object lesson, in terms of concrete achievement, for the peace movement of the world. The American Peace Society may be encouraged, for the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament was an international conference. The American Peace Society stands for the principle of international conferences. The Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament was made up of delegates of the nations represented, delegates representing their nations and acting under instructions. That, history seems to show, is the way of sanity. The nations voted according to the principle of equality; it could not have been otherwise. They reached their conclusions only by unanimous agreement. Evidently that, too, is

an essential feature of a successful international conference. These are things for which the American Peace Society has stood. Evidently they are the things for which the American Peace Society must continue to stand.

The President of the United States, in his address at the close of the conference, fittingly remarked:

"No intrigue, no offensive or defensive alliances, no involvements have wrought your agreements, but reasoning with each other to common understanding has made new relationships among governments and peoples, new securities for peace, and new opportunities for achievement and attending happiness.

"Here have been established the contacts of reason, here has come the inevitable understandings of face-to-face exchanges when passion does not inflame. The very atmosphere shamed national selfishness into retreat. Viewpoints were exchanged, differences composed, and you came to understand how common, after all, are human aspirations; how alike, indeed, and how easily reconcilable are our national aspirations; how sane and simple and satisfying to seek the relationships of peace and security."

BASES OF OUR FAITH

The discontent with the international peace movement is but one expression in our tired world of a widespread discontent. The hope of this our day is that so many are concerned because of the inefficiencies of our whole modern social order. Because of resentments against things as they are we had the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament. Europe is trying to follow in the same path. It is seen that the real peace movement must become increasingly an expression of an applied intelligence. If less concerned than formerly with the infinite, it is increasingly disturbed about the finite. In fine, the international peace movement, so far as it is entitled to public confidence, must be an expression of intelligence applied to the weal of all the peoples. Faith in the peace movement increases in proportion as it is seen to be intelligence applied to the common good.

In definite respects, the peace movement is an expression of intelligence. In spite of the discouragements, we know that it has always been an expression of intelligence. Behind it have been the best minds of all time. It represents many an achievement in practical politics. Whatever our views of the League of Nations set up in Geneva, the British Empire, Switzerland, the United Provinces, France, the United States of America are international achievements, unions of States capable of solving, at least for the most part, the problems of peace and war within their own groups. They in their various ways have shown how to solve disputes affecting boundaries, controversies relating to debts, inefficiencies, tariffs, economic differences. They have dealt and are still dealing with such questions as the sovereignties of States, the adjustment of the separate powers of States to the separate powers of the union; the independence and interdependence of such States. Questions arising out of the differences between small and large States have been found to disappear under the principle of equality before the law. Problems arising out of the

differences between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes have been met and solved. What should be the function of coercion in the behavior of States is known. How an equilibrium between anarchy and tyranny, between rights and duties is to be maintained between free sovereign and independent States is not unfamiliar to the student, say, of our American experiment. Informed workers in the interest of international peace know the importance of the principle of government of laws and not of men, and of that other axiom of democracy that governments can derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed.

The men devoting their lives that wars may be lessened are giving some of them their all to promote permanent international peace through justice, to advance in every proper way conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, all to the end that right shall rule might in a governed world. They believe in the intelligence of their work. They know that there is something finer than Nietzsche's "Will to Power." There is a will among us to redeem ourselves from meanness and misery. There is a will to achieve unto the deepest sum of permanent satisfactions in terms of increasing health and happiness. There is the will to apply brains and co-operative intelligence to the specific problems and the concrete needs as they arise. There is the will to see more clearly, to feel more deeply, and to express more truly, all to the end that life may be more humane, more just, more free, more beautiful. There is the will that the greatest number may attain unto the greatest creative service, reaching thus unto those wider significances of what it means to live. There is the will to glorify, as best we may, this very small atom in space which we call the earth. There is the will to end war.

Your Secretary begs leave to close this his tenth annual report in those words from the Virginia Bill of Rights, "made by the Representatives of the good people of Virginia," June 12, 1776: "No Free Government or the Blessings of Liberty Can Be Preserved to any People . . . but by Frequent Recurrence to Fundamental Principles."

Respectfully submitted,

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,
Secretary.

Treasurer's Report

Cash Audit, Year Ended April 30, 1922

R. G. RANKIN & Co., ACCOUNTANTS AND AUDITORS

NEW YORK, May 11, 1922.

Mr. GEORGE E. WHITE, *Treasurer,*
The American Peace Society,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As a result of our examination of the accounts of the American Peace Society for the year ended April 30, 1922, we submit herewith the following:

EXHIBIT "A"—Cash account for the year ended April 30, 1922.

SCHEDULE No. 1—Reserve fund investments as at April 30, 1922.

We hereby certify that, in our opinion, the attached statements accurately account for the cash receipts and disbursements of the Society for the year ended April 30, 1922, and the Reserve Fund investments as at April 30, 1922.

During the year the Society received a contribution of \$200.00 in U. S. Liberty bonds, which is not included in the contributions, as shown under cash receipts, in Exhibit "A."

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. RANKIN & Co.

EXHIBIT "A"

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Cash Account for the Year Ended April 30, 1922.

Balance of cash on hand and on deposit May 1, 1921 \$2,311.90

RECEIPTS

Memberships	\$1,719.26
Subscriptions to ADVOCATE OF PEACE	311.92
Sales of pamphlets.....	43.85
Contributions	3,314.63
Legacy from James Callanan.....	1,500.00
Subvention from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace....	12,760.89
Permanent Peace Fund Trustees...	6,554.10
Sales of Peace stamps.....	13.22
Income from Reserve Fund Investments	1,349.00
Sale of \$4,000.00 U. S. Treasury certificates	4,062.50
U. S. certificates of indebtedness, June, 1921, matured.....	5,500.00
C., B. & Q. Joint 4's, 1921, registered, matured	4,000.00
C., B. & Q. Joint 4's, 1921, coupon, matured	4,000.00
Sale of 17 American Tel. & Tel. Co. subscription rights	5.05
Interest on bank deposits.....	28.24
Miscellaneous income	22.49
	<hr/>
	45,185.15
	<hr/>
	\$47,497.05

DISBURSEMENTS

Department of Home Office:

Salaries (Secretary, Editor, Assistant Editor, office secretary, and clerks)	\$10,531.08
Office rent	1,402.50
Postage, express, telegrams, etc.	218.40
Office supplies	691.25
Telephone	111.88
Library	202.65
Annual banquet	641.50
Miscellaneous	52.87
	<hr/>
	\$13,852.13

Department of Field Work:

Subvention to New Hampshire Peace Society....	\$50.00
Travel expense* of A. D. Call	800.00
	<hr/>
	850.00

* Mr. Call spent two months in Europe during the summer of 1921.

Department of Publications:

Printing and mailing Ad- VOCATE OF PEACE.....	\$7,477.12	
Printing pamphlets	423.85	
Miscellaneous printing ex- pense	263.29	
		8,164.26

Investments:

U. S. Treasury certificates (par. \$24,000)	24,116.00	
		46,982.39

Balance of cash on hand and on deposit April 30, 1922		\$514.66
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Represented by—

National Metropolitan bank check- ing account	\$495.84	
Petty cash on hand in office.....	18.82	
		\$514.66

SCHEDULE No. 1

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Reserve Fund Investments as at April 30, 1922.

	Par value.	Market value.
\$200 American Tel. & Tel. Co. Conv. 6's, 1925	\$200.00	\$230.00
\$100 U. S. Liberty 1st 4¼ Conv.....	100.00	99.64
\$100 U. S. Liberty 2d 4¼ Conv.....	100.00	99.50
\$100 U. S. Liberty 4th 4¼ Conv.....	100.00	99.82
\$20,000 U. S. Certificate of Indebted- ness, 5½, due 6/15/22.....	20,000.00	20,050.00
17 shares American Tel. & Tel. Co...	1,700.00	2,074.00
24 shares Boston Elevated Rwy. Co.	2,400.00	1,944.00
12 shares Pullman Co.....	1,200.00	1,494.00
1 share Puget Sound Power & Light Co. Com.	100.00	41.50
12 shares Puget Sound Power & Light Co. Com., 6%, Pfd.....	1,200.00	972.00
	\$27,100.00	\$27,104.46

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

ITS ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

(CHAPTER 21)

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and
Forty-eight

AN ACT

To Incorporate the American Peace Society

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
tives, in General Court assembled and by the authority
of the same, as follows:*

SECTION I. Samuel Greele, John Tappan, Simon Greenleaf, their associates and successors, are hereby made a corporation by the Name of the American Peace Society, for the promotion of universal peace, with all the powers and privileges, and subject to all the duties, restrictions, and liabilities set forth in the forty-fourth chapter of the Revised Statutes.

SECTION II. The said corporation may take and hold real and personal estate, the net annual income of which shall not exceed the sum of three thousand dollars.*

House of Representatives, February 23, 1848.

Passed to be enacted. Francis B. Crowninshield, Speaker.

In Senate, February 24, 1848.

Passed to be enacted. Zeno Scudder, President.

Approved—George N. Briggs—February 24, 1848.

AN ACT

To Authorize the American Peace Society to Hold its Meetings Outside the Commonwealth

Be it enacted, etc.:

SECTION I. THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY is hereby authorized to hold its meetings in any State or Territory of the United States, in the District of Columbia or elsewhere.

SECTION II. This act shall take effect upon its pas-
sage.

(Approved February 1, 1910.)

ITS CONSTITUTION

(Adopted at the Ninety-fourth Annual Meeting of the Society, May 26, 1922.)

I

NAME

This Society shall be known as the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

II

PURPOSE

The purpose of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a governed world.

III

ORGANIZATION

1. The AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY shall be organized for the promotion of these aims into three departments:

- (1) Department of Publications.
- (2) Department of Home Office.
- (3) Department of Field Work.

2. Each department shall render such services as shall be determined by the Board of Directors.

IV

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The affairs of the Society shall be controlled by a Board of Directors, to be constituted as follows: The

* Under the General Act of the Massachusetts Legislature (Revised Laws of Massachusetts (1902), vol. 2, chap. 125, sec. 8) the American Peace Society is entitled to hold property to the amount of \$1,500,000 without any change in its charter.

President (*ex officio*), Secretary (*ex officio*), Treasurer (*ex officio*), Executive Committee (*ex officio*), and forty-eight other Directors, duly elected and accredited at the ninety-fourth annual meeting of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, held in the city of Washington, D. C., May 26, 1922.

2. The Board of Directors shall, as far as practicable, be representative of the forty-eight States forming the United States of America. Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Board of Directors.

3. Each Director shall hold office until his successor is elected.

4. Vacancies in the Board of Directors shall be filled by the Directors, by a vote of two-thirds of the Directors present at the next annual or special meeting.

5. No person shall be elected, however, who shall not have been nominated, in writing, by some member of the Board of Directors fourteen days before an annual or a special meeting.

6. A list of the persons so nominated, with the names of the proposers, shall be mailed to each member of the Board of Directors seven days before a meeting, and no other nominations shall be considered except by the unanimous consent of the Directors present.

7. In case any Director shall, without acceptable excuse, fail to attend three successive annual meetings of the Board, he shall thereupon cease to be a Director.

8. No Director shall receive any compensation for his services as such.

9. The Directors shall fill all vacancies occurring in any office.

10. The Board of Directors shall maintain a central clearing-house and bureau of information for all persons and organizations in this or other countries engaged in promoting the cause of international peace and good will.

11. There shall be an annual meeting of the Board of Directors, to be held in the month of May, at such time and place as may be determined by the Executive Committee.

12. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President and Secretary, or by any five members of the Board of Directors, on ten days' notice.

13. The order of business at the meetings of the Board of Directors shall be as follows:

- (1) The call to order.
- (2) Reading of the minutes.
- (3) Announcements and communications.
- (4) The President's report.
- (5) The Secretary's report.
- (6) The Treasurer's report.
- (7) Reports of committees.
- (8) The election of officers, Directors, and Executive Committee.
- (9) Unfinished business.
- (10) New business.
- (11) Adjournment.

V

OFFICERS

1. The elective officers of the Society shall be a President, one or more Vice-Presidents and one or more Honorary Vice-Presidents, as the Board of Directors may

from time to time determine; a Secretary, an Editor of the Society's publications, and a Treasurer, all of which elective officers shall be chosen by the Board of Directors at its annual meeting in May. The Secretary may serve as Editor of the Society's magazine and other publications.

2. The elective officers shall be elected for one year, and shall hold office until their successors, duly elected, have qualified.

VI

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. There shall be an Executive Committee of the Society, to consist of the President (*ex officio*), Secretary (*ex officio*), Treasurer (*ex officio*), and twelve other persons to be chosen by the Board of Directors at its annual meeting.

2. The Executive Committee shall, subject to the control of the Board of Directors, administer the affairs of the Society, fix its own quorum, decide the salaries of paid officials of the Society, and fill temporarily all vacancies occurring in any office.

3. The President and Secretary of the Society shall be respectively *ex officio* Chairman and Secretary of the Executive Committee.

4. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once in each month, except July and August, on a fixed date to be determined by the committee, and shall hold special meetings at the request of the President and Secretary or of any three of its members.

5. The order of business at the meetings of the Executive Committee shall be as follows:

- (1) The call to order.
- (2) Reading of the minutes.
- (3) Announcements and communications.
- (4) The Treasurer's report.
- (5) The Secretary's report.
- (6) Unfinished business.
- (7) New business.
- (8) Adjournment.

VII

THE WORK OF THE SOCIETY

1. The executive work of the Society shall be organized under the charge of the President and Secretary, who shall undertake to bring into close and active co-operation the peace forces of the United States, promote the organization of the Society as herein provided, and advise with peace workers in this and other countries, to the end that public sentiment favorable to the principles for which the Society stands may be organized and strengthened. The President and Secretary shall make annual reports of their work, which shall include the work of the Executive Committee, to the Board of Directors.

2. *President.*—The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, of the Board of Directors, and of the Executive Committee. He shall have general direction of the work of the Society. He shall, as far as possible, guide and develop the peace forces of the country in accordance with the principles of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, its constitution and by-laws.

3. *Secretary.*—The Secretary shall issue notices of all meetings, keep the minutes of all meetings of the Society, of its Board of Directors, and of its Executive Committee. He shall have charge of the records of the Society, shall sign, with the President, such instruments as require their signatures, approve all bills submitted to the Treasurer for payment, and shall make such reports and perform such other duties as are incident to his office or may be required of him by the President, the Board of Directors, or the Executive Committee.

4. *Assistant Secretary.*—One or more assistant secretaries may be appointed by the President of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, on nomination by the Secretary and approval of the Executive Committee, to assist the Secretary in the discharge of his duties.

5. *Editor.*—The Editor shall edit the Society's periodical and other publications and attend to the distribution of such publications.

6. *Associate Editor.*—One or more associate editors may be appointed by the President of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, on nomination by the Editor and approval of the Executive Committee, to assist the Editor in the discharge of his duties.

7. *Treasurer.*—The Treasurer shall receive and receipt for all moneys, legacies, or gifts from whatever source paid to the Society. He shall keep a book of accounts, open at all reasonable times to the inspection of the Board of Directors. He shall recommend to the Board of Directors and Executive Committee the bank or banks for deposit, the rate of interest on bank balances, and advise relative to the investment of the funds of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY in such manner as may best serve its interests. He shall disburse the funds of the Society upon the approval of the President and Secretary. The Treasurer's account shall be audited annually.

8. *Assistant Treasurer.*—One or more assistant treasurers may be appointed by the President of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, on nomination by the Treasurer and approval of the Executive Committee, to assist the Treasurer in the discharge of his duties. Vouchers covering disbursements by assistant treasurers shall require such certification or approval as the Executive Committee may direct.

9. *A Periodical.*—The Society shall issue a periodical to be known as the *Advocate of Peace*.

VIII

HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOCIETY

The principal office of the Society shall be in the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia.

IX

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee shall be held as hereinbefore provided, and the Society may hold public meetings and conferences at such time and place as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

X

TYPES OF MEMBERS

1. *Annual Members.*—Any citizen or resident of the United States or of its dependencies who is in agreement with the purposes of the Society, or any other person with the approval of the Executive Committee, may become an Annual Member of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY upon the payment of such dues as may be fixed by the Board of Directors. Such members shall be entitled to receive the Society's periodical.

2. *Sustaining Members.*—Any citizen or resident of the United States or of its dependencies who is in agreement with the purposes of the Society, or any other person with the approval of the Executive Committee, may become a sustaining member of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY upon the annual payment of not less than five dollars. Such members shall be entitled to receive the Society's periodical and other publications of a general character.

3. *Contributing Members.*—Any citizen or resident of the United States or its dependencies who is in agreement with the purposes of the Society, or any other person with the approval of the Executive Committee, may become a contributing member of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY upon the annual payment of not less than twenty-five dollars. Such members shall be entitled to all the publications of the Society.

4. *Life Members.*—Any citizen or resident of the United States or of its dependencies who is in agreement with the purposes of the Society, or any other person with the approval of the Executive Committee, may become a life member of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY upon application to the Board of Directors, election, and the payment of not less than one hundred dollars. Each life member shall, during his life, receive the publications of the Society.

5. *Institutional Members.*—Any institution aiming to promote the cause of international peace, if approved by the Board of Directors, may become an institutional member of the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY. This membership shall be an annual membership, for which the institution shall pay annually to the AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY not less than twenty-five dollars. Institutional members shall be entitled to the same benefits as contributing members.

6. *Honorary Members.*—Those who have rendered specially meritorious or distinguished service to the cause of international peace, and have been approved for such distinction by two-thirds vote of the members present at any meeting of the Board of Directors, shall become honorary members.

XI

AMENDING THIS CONSTITUTION

The object of this Society shall never be changed, but the constitution may in all other respects be amended at the annual meeting of the Board of Directors by a two-thirds vote on the recommendation of the Executive Committee; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been mailed to each member of the Board of Directors at least ten days prior to the meeting.

1828

1922

The American Peace Society

NINETY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY

THE ANNUAL DINNER

The annual dinner of the American Peace Society, celebrating the 94th anniversary of its organization, was held at Rauscher's, Washington, D. C., May 26, 1922, at 7.30 o'clock p. m., Hon. Andrew J. Montague, President of the Society, presiding.

THE PROGRAM

"Our plan is composed of two parts, viz: A Congress of Nations and a Court of Nations, either of which might exist without the other, but they would tend much more to the happiness of mankind if united in one plan, though not in one body. A congress of ambassadors from all those Christian and civilized nations who should choose to unite in the measure is highly desirable to fix the fluctuating and various points of international law, by the consent of all the parties represented, making the law of nations so plain that a court composed of the most eminent jurists of the countries represented at the Congress could easily apply those principles to any particular case brought before them." WILLIAM LADD,

*Founder of the American Peace Society, from
His "Essay on a Congress of Nations," 1840.*

Speakers

INVOCATION

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.
Upper Montclair, New Jersey

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

HON. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE
Representative from Virginia, President American Peace Society

JUSTICE AS BETWEEN NATIONS

CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Esq.
Professor of International Law, Author of "International Law Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied by the United States"

A SUGGESTION FOR THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

CAPTAIN GORDON SMITH
Captain of the Royal Serbian Army, attached to the Intelligence Headquarters Staff, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes

CERTAIN IMPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY TO THE PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

PROF. CARL EMIL SEASHORE
Dean, Graduate College, State University of Iowa, former President American Psychological Association, Author of Many Psychological Texts

GREECE AND PEACE IN THE NEAR EAST

JOANNES GENNADIUS, G. C. V. O., D. C. L., LL. D.
Late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Greece to Great Britain

SOUTH AMERICA AND NORTH AMERICA

HIS EXCELLENCY, SEÑOR DON BELTRAN MATHIEU
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Chile to the United States of America

THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN OUR WESTERN HEMISPHERE

DR. LEO S. ROWE
Director General, Pan American Union

"And as all history is the picture of war, as we have said, so it is no less true that it is the record of the mitigation and decline of war."

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

—Before the American Peace Society, at the Odeon, in Boston, 1838.

Introductory Remarks of the President

President MONTAGUE: I regret to suggest amidst the good cheer of the evening the discouraging aspect of peace throughout the world. Revolutions, wars, and rumors of wars, following the most immeasurable conflict of arms of all ages, still vex our peace and diminish our hope. But these things have come despite the extraordinary efforts that have been made in the past ninety-four years for the end in whose behalf we are assembled this evening. The forces of cupidity and dishonesty, prejudice and distrust, rivalries and ambitions, fears and anger, seem still to excite the passions that so quickly bring forth war. Therefore, it is our supreme duty to co-operate with all the sound, wise, and pacific activities of the world, with the view of combating the unholy influences that precipitate nations into wars. We take hope, however, from the Conference at Versailles, from the Conference at Washington, from conferences at other places in the world, and from the goodly men and women throughout the years, of whom you here afford an example.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have with us this evening a distinguished lawyer, an author of note; perhaps I may say his two recent volumes on international law establish the high-water-mark contribution to that great subject, and I have very great pleasure in asking Mr. Charles Cheney Hyde to respond. (Applause.)

Charles Cheney Hyde

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am, of course, most grateful for the generous words of introduction. The late Prof. Goldwin Smith gave an account of a distinguished Anglican bishop who was so overworked by his numerous duties as to be unable to apply his mind to the discourses which he had to give, and so in place of intellectual effort he employed a most satisfactory substitute: a powerful voice and a genial manner. The scheme worked so well that his auditors were quite impressed by the result. I have the greatest respect for such a man. If any public speaker can disguise the barrenness of his own mind he really deserves respect of his hearers. I should like to follow in his wake; if I knew the devices I should try to do so. Hesitating to make such an attempt before such an audience as this, I shall simply advert to a few facts which perhaps are known to all of you, and ask you to make your own deductions.

In 1899, and again in 1907, there was established at The Hague a so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration. The United States has frequently been a litigant before that court and it has been, sometimes, successful. We have with us tonight the distinguished agent of the first case that was arbitrated before that tribunal in the person of the Hon. Jackson H. Ralston. But that court was unfortunate in one respect: there was no agreement by the powers creating it whereby the slightest legal duty was imposed upon any contracting State to adjudicate any differences of any kind. The court remained simply a panel of judges available for use when it was so desired.

Now, experience has shown that courts of justice, how-

ever cleverly organized, serve as no deterrent of war when no legal duty is imposed upon States to invoke their aid. Are you aware of the fact—of course you are—that at this moment the United States is not a party to a single treaty obliging it to adjudicate or arbitrate before any international tribunal any issue, however justiciable or arbitrable, in case that issue involves the vital interests or integrity or honor of one of the contracting States? And that leads me to my first question, which I should like to submit to your consideration: In proportion as we are cutting down our naval force and lessening our power to fight, is it not necessary for the United States to secure some general agreement whereby at least justiciable differences, as they are called, will be submitted to some international tribunal for adjustment by judicial process?

I leave that to your consideration. It is a fair question for a peace society to consider. Might it not be an amusing occupation for the outside world to observe an organization as old as this, with its fine traditions and not lacking in influence, remaining inert, and not seeking to bring home to public opinion in this country methods conducive to the establishment of peace? I take it that public opinion in the United States today is determined that, as far as our country is concerned, wars shall not recur, save under those extraordinary conditions when our own national defense leaves no alternative. Moreover, that public opinion—if I read it aright—is longing for constructive, definite, simple, understandable suggestions, indicative of methods for the maintenance of peace. Those methods will be furnished. If an organization such as this can furnish them, it will have justified the ninety-four years of its existence. But if, unfortunately, it cannot; if it fails at this hour to have the imagination, the breadth of vision, the initiative, to point out constructive, useful plans; if it fails, moreover, to enlist all the peace-loving forces in this land, under whatever name, in a common, single effort to give that constructive aid which the people and statesmen of this country need, I fear the organization will sink into a lamentable desuetude. Let us hope it does not.

In 1920 you recall that an advisory committee of jurists met at The Hague at the invitation of the League of Nations to draft a plan for a so-called permanent court of international justice. That work was accomplished. Mr. Elihu Root and Dr. James Brown Scott rendered valuable service, and beyond what the world will ever know, in providing a project which marks a milestone in the progress of international justice, because their project presented a singular contrast to that of 1899 and of 1907. It was a project which provided that a reasonable, broad, yet limited class of so-called justiciable differences should not only be adjustable before the tribunal, but also that all States accepting that arrangement should by compulsory process have a right to demand adjustment. That proposal was reported, as you know, to the League of Nations, and in the autumn and winter of 1920 the Council and the Assembly of that organization combined to make radical changes. I refer to only one change. That was the change which rubbed out the noble plan for the compulsory adjudica-

tion of international differences. Now, we have the court as it was established finally by the League of Nations on December 13, 1920. Compulsory process was eliminated, but there was given an alternative to States desiring to utilize the compulsory idea, in case those States desired, by signing a particular agreement as among themselves to bind each other to adjudicate justiciable differences. Many States have already availed themselves of that privilege. What is the situation today? We have this tribunal established by the League of Nations, itself the agency of the League of Nations, the judges chosen by the League of Nations, and the conditions on which non-member States may have access to the court fixed by the League of Nations. The United States has the right of access. Recently the League enlarged the opportunities for the use of the court by giving access thereto to Turkey, Russia, Germany and Mexico. Furthermore, we find that in the selection of judges greatest wisdom and sense have been shown, and a bench of the highest order has been selected, the American member being Prof. John Bassett Moore, our first international jurist. The president of the court is Dr. Loder, of the Netherlands, and England is represented by Viscount Finley, formerly Lord High Chancellor. With that court so established, the United States is therefore confronted with this alternative, and I would like to state it as simply as I can for your consideration: Would it be wise for our country, by reason of the fine personnel of the judges and the excellent organization of the court, to accept the tribunal as it stands, notwithstanding its connection with the League of Nations, and so become one of its supporters; or would it be wiser for the United States to withhold the support until it has endeavored either to withdraw the court from the League of Nations, or until it has at least secured a general agreement that all justiciable issues be adjudicated by compulsory process before the court?

That, ladies and gentlemen, is one of the great problems concerning us today. I venture no opinion on it, but I would like to leave one suggestion of my own by way of conclusion: For the sake of our own safety as a nation, the United States ought at an early date to secure some general arrangement whereby all justiciable differences which may confront it shall within reasonable limits be settled by some permanent court of international justice. Such an arrangement offers a national safeguard. It needs to be established, and, in seeking to establish it, we are sure that we are advancing the cause of justice among nations. (Applause.)

President MONTAGUE: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am quite sure you appreciate the importance of the suggestions made by Mr. Hyde, in which I must express my earnest concurrence. I do not think that the people of America should have one doubt or trepidation as to the practicability, as to the wisdom, as to the duty of the establishment of a permanent court of international justice when we realize what has been accomplished by a permanent Supreme Court of international justice for the States of the American Union. That is the great prototype of such a tribunal. If we have done this, why should other people fail in doing what we have accomplished?

So I hope that America will take her part in some way by becoming a real live member of this great international juridical tribunal. If we have settled difficulties between men within nations, why can we not settle difficulties between nations by similar tribunals? We do not altogether stop the difficulties between persons, but we tremendously abbreviate and diminish the difficulties, and we settle them without bloodshed and without force.

Ladies and Gentlemen, people who are undertaking to do their duty should court advice and suggestions, and we are very fortunate this evening in having with us a distinguished gentleman who will make suggestions for the betterment of the American Peace Society. This gentleman is a captain in the Royal Serbian Army, attached to the Intelligence Headquarters Staff of the country which he represents at Washington. He is also an author of distinction, who has written a great book upon Serbia and Yugoslavia, a book which pictures perhaps the most pathetic scenes in the great tragedy that took place upon European battlefields.

I have great pleasure in introducing to you Captain Gordon Gordon-Smith. (Applause.)

Captain Gordon Gordon-Smith

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have been asked to say a few words this evening on the subject of propaganda. I presume I have been called upon because I have had my share in this work during the recent World War.

When the United States came into the war the Serbian Government, in whose service I was, remembered that there were in this country 700,000 Yugoslavs. Being technically Austrian subjects, enemy aliens, they were not liable to the draft, and yet, as we were fighting to free their country from the yoke of Austria, they had a more active interest in the conflict than the other inhabitants of the United States.

The Serbian Government was, in consequence, desirous that the American Government should recruit, arm, and organize these Yugoslavs as a special legion and send them to fight alongside their Serbian brothers-in-race on the Salonica front. I was in consequence given the mission by the Prince Regent, now King Alexander, and the Headquarters Staff of the Serbian Army to proceed to the United States to plead their cause. I will always bear a grateful remembrance of the sympathy and enthusiasm I found in this country for Serbia, its army, and its people. The proposal I brought was, however, a new one and it was some time before its justice and opportunity was appreciated. As a consequence, it was not until late in July, 1918, that Congress voted the necessary appropriation of \$200,000,000 for raising and equipping the Slav Legions, and the war came to an end before the force could be organized.

But the rôle played by foreign propaganda in the United States did not end with the signing of the armistice, which put an end to actual hostilities.

The fact that the United States was the only nation to emerge from the fiery furnace of war with all its resources in men, money, and material practically intact, gave it, economically, a predominant position *vis-a-vis* the nations which had been bled white by four long years

of conflict. America, in addition, had gone into the war not for mean and sordid motives, but for a high ideal. She came out of it as she went in, with her hands clean. She asked for no territory, no war indemnities, no special advantages. For the first time in history, as far as she was concerned, the harsh dictum of Brennus, *vae victis*, did not find application. This assured her moral force.

As a consequence, it was to the United States that every nation turned for material aid and moral support. As long as the war lasted the actual state of conflict operated like the hoops on a barrel, binding the Allies closely together. As soon, however, as the outside pressure was removed, internal forces again began to operate which threatened their union. There were thousands of miles of frontier to lay down, huge extents of territory subject to rival claims, and fierce competition for spheres of influence and economic advantages.

In this struggle each nation was desirous of obtaining the material aid and the moral support of the United States, and each in consequence tried to convince the American people of the justice of its cause and claims. Their great difficulty in making these clear was the want of knowledge of the mass of the American people of European affairs. America is a comparatively young nation which, for a century and a half, has had as its task the development and exploitation of a vast continent. This task taxed its energies to the utmost and absorbed its entire attention, with the result that for the majority of its citizens Europe was a *terra incognita* and its political divisions and aspirations a sealed book.

Then, suddenly, the United States is called upon to act as the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. Her practically boundless economic influence is invoked to bring back commercial prosperity and her moral influence is invoked to aid in the triumph of what each nation regarded as its just claims. It soon became evident to the European governments that the great stumbling block to interesting Americans efficaciously in European affairs was the general lack of knowledge of the conditions and aspirations of the nations on the other side of the Atlantic.

This state of affairs the various nations proceeded to remedy by undertaking an intensive campaign of propaganda for the education of public opinion. Huge bureaux were established at various centers, large staffs of propagandists, both European and American, were employed and the various countries started in to present their arguments and views to the American public at high pressure.

Unfortunately, there was no longer any sign of that Entente between them which had given them victory on the field of battle. On the contrary, they rapidly developed divergences of view which in some instances became transformed into actual hostility. The American public, therefore, had the unlovely spectacle of half a score of nations, which had shed their blood together for the noblest of causes, quarreling and bickering among themselves over questions of frontiers, territories, and spheres of influence.

If each nation in its propaganda had confined itself to a clear and objective statement of its claims and as-

pirations no great harm would have been done. But they were not content with stating the case for themselves; they attacked and belittled the statements and claims of the rival nations. Unpleasant truths were suppressed and skillful legal subtleties masqueraded as serious arguments. The object of all this propaganda was ostensibly to inform and educate American public opinion, but by its methods it defeated its own object. Instead of educating public opinion it only confused it. The great mass of the public, being ignorant of the geographical and political conditions on the other side of the Atlantic, were torn this way and that by conflicting statements and misstatements.

Then appeals were made to the foreign immigrant section of the population to take up the cause of their country of origin, and they were encouraged to use their influence with their Senators and Congressmen to espouse its cause. It goes without saying that this carrying of international questions into local politics could only have the worst possible effect. No more unlikely method of obtaining a calm and just opinion of the American people on a foreign question could be devised or anything more likely to hamper and embarrass the President and the Executive in its difficult and delicate task.

Then the daily press was flooded with a mass of reports and communiques, often hopelessly contradictory. Propagandists took advantage of the love of sensation of the more ignorant to paint lurid and exaggerated pictures of conditions on the other side if they thought that this would aid their cause or, better still, discredit their opponents. Stories of plots, revolutions, insurrections, and massacres were published broadcast, till the average American believed that all Europe was chaos and confusion. The propagandists forgot "curses, like chickens, come home to roost," and that if each side passed its time blackening the character of its rivals they would all end, in the eyes of the Americans, of being of the same sombre hue.

At the same time the picture has its bright side. There is not the slightest doubt that since the war an immense number of people in the United States have been led to take an active part or interest in foreign affairs and are making intelligent and diligent efforts to inform themselves. The existence of such an admirable publication as the "Current History Magazine" and the foreign departments of the great reviews and magazines bear eloquent testimony to the immensely increased interest in foreign affairs.

The great schools and universities have also taken up the discussion of latter-day foreign problems and have called on "men of light and leading" to address their students. I do not, of course, expect that there will be unanimity of views on all European questions among such educators. God forbid; it is only by free and open discussion that the truth can be known.

All propaganda that comes out into the light of day is respectable and legitimate. What is to be combated is the anonymous communication, the faked telegram, the deliberately false news emanating from all sorts of obscure committees and agencies, many with axes to grind of the least reputable kind, which flood the press

and spread doubt and anxiety among the public. There are, unfortunately, too many people who have interest in "fishing in troubled waters," and all their attempts to alarm or misinform public opinion should be severely condemned.

The combating of such dangerous and insidious influences is, in my opinion, a task eminently suitable for a great organization like the American Peace Society. (Applause.)

President MONTAGUE: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure we are appreciative of the contribution that has been made by the distinguished gentleman who has just taken his seat.

The most interesting things of life are perhaps the most mysterious things of life. When a student in college I was jealous of the gifts of students who knew psychology; I admired them as wizards let down from above, and when we can have that great science interpreted to us as applied to the causes of war, we then reach the very subtle motives and objects and natures of mankind.

We have with us a gentleman competent to deal with these mysteries, a gentleman who has long been a professor and an author in the realm of psychology.

I have pleasure in introducing to you a gentleman well known to the American public, Prof. Carl Emil Seashore. (Applause.)

Prof. Seashore,

Chairman Division of Anthropology and Psychology,
National Research Council

Some experiments have recently been made on the psychology of peace and war among cats and dogs.

An experimenter prepared a cat in such a way and employed such instruments and technique that it was possible to see and record all the processes of digestion in natural operation. In order to determine the effect of mental attitude on digestion, the cat was first given a standard meal, after which all the performances in the digestive tract were observed and reported in detail.

The cat was then given a standard meal again, and immediately thereafter he was confronted by a barking dog in leash—without danger and yet irritating. It was observed that the processes of digestion were immediately stopped and the food lay like lead in the stomach and that the indigestion resulted in a sustained, nasty, fighting disposition on the part of the cat.

The next day the cat was again given a standard meal, and this time, after eating, it was gently stroked in a kindly manner until it lay purring in solid contentment, and the observation showed that the digestive processes were not only normal, but better than the normal; and the state of well being sustained a sweet and winning disposition in the cat.

This experiment has been repeated on different animals, and it is certain that the same principle applies to man. It furnishes a scientific foundation for the conventional practice of good cheer, restfulness, beautiful surroundings, and pleasantries at meal-time; as it equally

condemns the presence of anger, worry, and other forms of mental strain—even thinking—while eating. It justifies the employment of many words that say nothing, but act like the stroking of the cat in producing a purring contentment in the diners.

But this annual feast is of serious moment; and I must therefore tie a moral to the tale of the cat, namely, that what we found about the vital processes and disposition of the cat in this experiment is equally true in the actual life of a nation or nations. As the cat was thrown into an unfortunate disposition by the barking dog on the leash and into a beneficent and wholesome attitude by the gentle stroking, so nations are thrown into an attitude of war, not only by actual danger, but even by the sight of stacked arms; and they are disarmed and thrown into an attitude of co-operation through the sympathetic stroking which expresses a genuine good will.

But you ask one question of nature and nature will ask you ten. So the question arose as to whether it would be possible to get good results by both irritating and caressing the cat at the same time. Those who have tried this with children can guess the result. The caresses are wasted.

And this raises the question, Can we get good results by attempting to sooth a nation by gentle stroking at the same time that we bark at it? Take the case of our neighbor, Mexico. If, like the dog, with hair erect and teeth bare, braced for a leap, we should bark across the border, would it do any good to stroke soothingly at the same time? Perhaps we can base a national policy on this experiment of the cat.

While conscious of the heavy war clouds hanging over us, speaking as a psychologist, I should like to say a few cheerful things with reference to the future of peace. In the first place, the evolution of human society and its resources is going to be from now on a *consciously directed* evolution. We are right in the heart of the transition, breaking away from what might be called mere natural selection and traditional sway. Until recently, progressive people have acted like squatters taking possession of undeveloped resources as they found them. In politics, religion, and art there has been but little generalization. Cults, sects, and schools have struggled for survival as primitive savage tribes struggled for bodily supremacy. Health has been regarded as a gift and disease as a matter of fate, both in an unjustifiable sense. We are just emerging from a provincial type of government, primitive industry, and a dead philosophy.

Witness before us consciously directed movements for the conservation of natural resources—physical and mental, organic and inorganic, human and animal, individual and national. The care of health of body and mind, which was until recently an individual affair, is now a state and social affair, organized on principles of society and government. Eugenics, the science or art of improving offspring, especially of the human race, and eugenics, the science of improving the human race by external influences, apart from considerations of heredity, are making tremendous strides and will shape the future of man. The League of Nations, peace conferences—world movements in every direction—are con-

sciously directing the course of evolution. Birth control and race suicide are made the objects of conscious deliberation. The educational unit is a world unit.

Contrast this conscious direction of enormously rapid development in every phase of human life and endeavor with the blind march of chance and tradition before the present century. Now, conscious direction means deliberation. Deliberation means a second thought and the approval of reason. The universal sway of conscious direction of evolution will inevitably be in the direction of world peace.

In the second place, *man is getting better*. Opposing evolution, Bryan and his following maintain that man was created in a perfect state and has degenerated; and the ultra-evolutionists maintain that the civilization of the five most cultured nations of the world is on the verge of decline. Yet I say man is getting better. What is the evidence? One line of evidence is found in the principle that a civilization can be measured in terms of the number of people who can live together in peace. Among the most primitive people this is less than thirty; and, as culture gradually comes in, the unit gets larger and larger until, under the stars and stripes, a hundred million people can dwell together in the bonds of peace. This increase in the size of the political unit has been a gradually progressive one from the most primitive times; and no one can seriously question the probability of its culmination in civilization as a world unit.

But look at it from another point of view. Is man getting better? Trace the evolution or history of marriage and chastity in the family; trace the evolution of the status of woman; trace the evolution of the treatment of the sick and wounded, particularly the insane; trace the evolution of forethought for health and morals; trace each of these from its very inception and no one can imagine that the steady progress of advance should stop suddenly at this moment. Evil is never on a straight line. It proceeds in whirling vortices. So, on the basis of the past, we rejoice that man is growing better, and that the rate of improvement is increasing in geometric ratio.

In the third place, *man is adaptable*. Within the last decade countless theorists have held that human nature is so thoroughly established that a few hundred years of culture has not modified human nature seriously and will never do so. They are right. There are always countless processes of death and decay in the upward trend of life. It is a fact that we have been thousands of millions of years in the making and human nature is not altered fundamentally by a few hundred years of culture or environment. But the fortunate fact is that human nature, even in its lowest form, is endowed with almost limitless resources, so that, given the opportunity for cultural expression and refinement, the individual will be better from generation to generation, as he creates a better environment. The education and enfranchisement of women will make the world different; perhaps not in immediate political reaction, but in the long process of evolution. Political forethought by both men and women will make the world better.

It is trite to say that environment is opportunity. Given a consciously directed environment, and original

man will be found amply responsive for adapting himself without suddenly changing human nature appreciably.

In the last place, the world is getting smaller. The development of the means of communication and travel, of transmission of information, the stock of common knowledge, the mingling of races in finance, industries, and art annihilates distance and boundaries and tends to make the world one. When nations in the most distant parts of the earth can daily see and hear one another through moving pictures and radio broadcast, they will become neighbors.

For world sympathy there are two things in particular that we have not yet realized. One is a universal language, not to replace well-established languages, but to furnish one universal means of communication for business, science, and government; and that is coming. The other is a vitalization of religion. Fanaticism in religion and the Babel of language are two fundamental sources of war. The result of pooling the religions of the world, as we are doing in this century, is going to be the development of a world religion—an attitude toward a supreme being which will result in a progressive realization of truth, goodness, and beauty.

President MONTAGUE: Ladies and Gentlemen, the very difficult subject which the speaker has dealt with I am sure will give you some idea of my prophecy: that one must be in a very exalted intellectual state to expound these very perplexing questions.

I have great pleasure of now introducing to you a remarkable man. He comes to us from that nation which has given the most penetrating and permanent contributions to the civilizations of the world. I have no doubt that the most extraordinary contribution ever made to the civilizations of the world has been made by the Greek culture and Greek achievements. We have from that country Dr. Joannes Gennadius, late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, perhaps the foremost diplomat of Greece.

I mention one further fact. Dr. Gennadius has recently given to the American College of Classics at Athens his great library, consisting of over fifty thousand volumes, making that library now not only one of great volume but of symmetry. He has consented to be with us tonight and I have very great pleasure in introducing him. (Applause.)

Joannes Gennadius

I have to confess to you that it has been with considerable hesitation, not to say diffidence, that I complied with the wish of your committee that I should address to you a few words tonight; and this on two grounds. In the first instance, I felt that I could say really very little either in substance or in form which would come up at all, or approach, to the high standard of the addresses which your committee provides for you on such occasion and of which you have already had several examples.

In the second place, I am the representative of a country which is still at war, and consequently I very much doubted whether I could face you as an advocate of peace. And yet with us Greeks the tradition of peace

is an ancient and glorious one; for, as you know, the Greeks were the first who established an organization whereby interstate disputes could be peaceably solved; I refer to the far-famed Amphictyonic Council; and it is in the history of Greece that we meet the first instances of international arbitration for the solution of dangerous and thorny questions.

How is it, then, you may well ask, that we find ourselves in this ninth consecutive year under arms? It is, ladies and gentlemen, because this effort is made by us for the liberation of our own flesh and blood, our own brothers who are suffering under the most savage and brutal sway which has ever disgraced Europe. Do not forget that there is but one means for a down-trodden race to attain to liberty, and that is by a just war. It will not become necessary to labor in order to demonstrate this proposition before an American audience; for you have not forgotten, nor can you forget, that it was after an heroic struggle that you have attained to your present position of peace and prosperity; that you did not hesitate to embark in a terrible civil war when you thought that you were doing an act of justice in liberating an alien race that lived among you; that you waged war against a distant country in order to free a neighboring island; and that in the late World War you took a chivalrous part, not because your own country was menaced, but because you thought justly that the liberties of the human race were at stake. (Applause.)

Let us, then, be aware of abusive appeals to peace; let us examine closely those who preach peace and make a desert. You may remember classic instances of such deceptive assurances of peace; you remember the case of the Russian general who smothered the uprising of the Poles in rivers of blood and who maintained order under his jack-boot, but who informed his master, the Tzar, that peace and order reigned in Warsaw.

It is the same now with the Turks; Kemal Pasha and his colleagues have, to all intents and purposes, exterminated the entire Armenian nation, and they proclaim that there is peace in Armenia—the appalling peace of death. Day by day thousands of Greeks are being butchered and those few that remain are driven off herdlike to the wilderness from which there is no return: for famished and naked they drop one after the other by the wayside.

Your own missionaries have witnessed these awful occurrences; your own agents have reported these things officially. Will you remain impassive? Will you think that such occurrences do not concern you? I beg you to believe that there is no disposition on our part to lead you into complications, far less to make war; but God Almighty has bestowed upon you an arm far more mighty than the sword; your prestige, your political influence, the conviction that exists, to your honor, that you are not seeking any advantage, enables you to raise your voice and declare that such occurrences do not leave you cold, and that you will see that ultimately the criminals will be accountable for their crimes.

In these convictions I hope, I firmly believe, that the purposes of your society will go abroad to the world as aiming at the establishment of peace, but peace founded on law and order and justice and freedom. (Applause.)

President MONTAGUE: Ladies and Gentlemen, it is indeed a source of encouragement to find a statesman living in an environment at this time so deterrent who is able to give us so optimistic a note as has been given by the distinguished gentleman from Greece.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the last speaker of the evening comes to us from a country to which we are bound by geographic and political and historical ties. The people of the United States have had but few international policies; one of them it is pertinent on this occasion to mention: that is the Monroe Doctrine, which I would briefly define as the purpose and the duty and the self-defense of the American people to underwrite free governments on this hemisphere. (Applause.)

Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe and others long spoke of the cementing and strengthening the ties that bind North and South America together.

I have very great pleasure in introducing to you a representative of one of the great republics of South America. He remarks confidentially to me that the topic "North and South America" as given upon the program is not really the one which he desires to speak upon, and assuming the liberty that a presiding officer sometimes must assume, and if he will pardon me, I will tell him that in my section of country I once knew an old negro preacher who said he had three objects in taking a text: one was to take it; the second to depart from it, and the third never to come back to it. (Laughter.) He may use such latitude and express such views as he desires upon any subject touching the peace of our hemisphere or the peace of the world and we will be most grateful to him for them. I have now the great pleasure of introducing His Excellency Señor Don Beltran Mathieu, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Chile to the United States. (Applause.)

His Excellency Senor Don Beltran Mathieu

GENTLEMEN: I gratefully appreciate the invitation of the American Peace Society to talk to you tonight about a matter which is much upon my thought and heart.

Peace, gentlemen! If it were only as patent in our acts as in our words!

Are we to be condemned always to mere mouthings of peace and never, except at brief intervals, to behold its bright radiance on the horizon of our planet?

How strange it is that, with the exception of some pessimistic philosopher who looks upon war as the natural state of humanity, or of some deluded poet who defines man as the wolf of man, no one argues against peace. On the contrary, the aggressor as well as the oppressed among the peoples of the earth assume the attitude of seeking peace while their governments are busily engaged in casting upon opponents the responsibility of having broken the peace.

And what terrible evils are charged against those adversaries: the extremes of moral and material misery from the collective slaughtering loosed by war!

How strenuously each nation seeks to ward off responsibility for destroying the peace of the world, for the scandal of dethroning Justice from her seat and giving reign instead to force!

And to whom do they appeal? To a universal conscience that loves peace and condemns war.

But, confronted by the sad history of humanity, that poor universal conscience becomes but a negligible myth invoked and revered by all, but obeyed by none. Pure hypocrisy! Indeed, a greater genuineness is to be found in that cynical school whose teachings have just laid low a great people; for, in good faith—sad to relate—that school frankly holds to the doctrines of the necessity of war, of manifest destiny, of the survival of the strong, of the superiority of culture, of the innate virtues of the warrior and of the softness, effeminacy, and corrupting influences inherent in peace.

And we who proclaim ourselves scandalized by those teachings—are we in a position to throw the first stone?

The teachings we derive from history, for instance, do they not glorify war? We may betray ignorance concerning the constructive factors of human progress and the personalities of the modest and patient workers who have labored for that progress, but are rarely at a loss to describe a famous battle or to name a military chief whose fame is constantly kept alive in our hearts by the bronze of their monuments. Nor can we always decide whether a war is just or unjust, nor upon whose shoulders rests responsibility therefor—a very difficult decision, indeed, for right rests always on the side of the victor, as in "judgments of God," contended for in the lists of the Middle Ages.

Nevertheless, during the last war the spirit of the combatants was mightily sustained by the thought that that war would be the last. "We are making war against war" was the sacramental phrase sent out from the trenches to the poor mothers who, having sacrificed their sons, were clutching to their breasts their little ones whom the beasts of war had not yet devoured. But you see, gentlemen, what value is to be placed on the guaranty offered by that tortured cry of nature.

It is a curious paradox that leaves one perplexed between a sane thought inspired by his reason and the brutal fact, prominent and almost eternal in history, as though it were a fatality from which the human species must never think of being freed.

The fact is that the question of war and peace is not an academic thesis that may be resolved by mere debate; it is a very complex condition of humanity which can only be cured by probing to the very marrow of the evil in search of its causes and applying the remedies, because an age-long habit of thought cannot be uprooted in a day; we may even yet need to erect other calvaries and sacrifice other Saviours before we can find the way, the truth, and life.

But we must not despair. Many causes of war have already disappeared; the mass invasions of starving peoples into the fertile heritages of their neighbors, religious wars, dynastic wars, wars brought about by national pride or points of honor or the worthy sentiment of patriotism.

What yet remains as a cause for war—and with dangerous and increased tendencies—is the conflict of economic interests; and even this may not be ineradicable if the peoples can but convince themselves that the economic world is regulated by laws as unalterable as those

of nature, and that the doctrine of "live and let live" is just and safe.

We have seen the world freed from many physical plagues by a patient and wise research in the field of prophylaxis, after having for centuries endured them with patient resignation as divine impositions. What we need now is moral hygienics, beginning with faith in the power of ideas and abandoning our fear of the epithet "idealist," which practical men are wont to throw in our faces with their terrible proofs.

I have come this evening to take my place among you without any sense of humiliation at being called an idealist. What would humiliate me, however, would be a hesitation on my part to proclaim the truth as I conceive it, loyally and honorably. (Applause.)

President MONTAGUE: Ladies and Gentlemen, we are very grateful to His Excellency the Ambassador for his very eloquent and wise remarks.

There was a speaker upon a very interesting topic, "The Maintenance of Peace in Our Western Hemisphere," who was delayed and has just arrived. I will not waste words in presenting him to you, for I am sure that he is well known to all of you—Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union. (Applause.)

Leo S. Rowe

I feel that I must apologize for having raised in your minds the hope that you would escape me and, after that hope seemed almost at the point of fulfillment, to disappoint you. (Laughter.)

I am glad, however, that I arrived in time to hear at least the greater portion of the address of His Excellency the Chilean Ambassador. It was most fitting that he should speak on this occasion, because there is certainly no other member of the Diplomatic Corps in Washington who has worked more earnestly, more incessantly, and more conscientiously, day in and day out, in the cause of peace. But I think that he has found, as many of us have found, that the greatest obstacle to the peace movement is that people are accustomed to look upon peace as something purely negative, namely, the absence of conflict. Such a view neither stirs the imagination nor spurs to action.

It is because the Pan American Union, since the day of its founding in 1889, to the present time, has emphasized the idea of mutual service that it has been able to set before the world an example of the real meaning of peace and a new standard of international action. To me it is always an inspiring sight to see the representatives of all the Republics of America assembled about the table of the Governing Board, exchanging views and devising means by which the nations of this continent can be of service to one another. Quietly and unostentatiously this work has gone on until today the spirit of Pan American unity has reached a point at which every international question, no matter how difficult and delicate, lends itself to the orderly process of settlement by conference.

We are witnessing today the splendid example that is being set by two great countries of South America—

Chile and Peru—in arranging for a settlement of the problem which has divided them for so many years.

The American Peace Society deserves the gratitude of this nation, because, for a period of nearly a century, it has been teaching and preaching the positive, vital, and constructive view of peace. It has placed before the American people the thought that peace rests, not merely on the elimination of armed conflict, but on the development of international co-operation, the strengthening of mutual service, and that common understanding and good-will which is the best antidote to prejudice and international antagonism.

President MONTAGUE: I beg to associate myself with the members of this Society in thanking the speakers of the evening and the distinguished guests for their presence. I now bid you good evening.

THE QUESTION OF THE ADRIATIC

By GORDON GORDON-SMITH

(NOTE.—It is becoming day by day more evident that Europe looks more and more to the United States for aid in the solution of many of the problems which the World War has brought to the front. The nations do not any longer look for active intervention, but they hope to find in the United States a "guide, philosopher, and friend," whose counsels will carry the more weight that, politically, America has no direct interests on the other side of the Atlantic.

But, in order that the counsels and advice of the United States should carry weight, they must be based on full knowledge of the questions at issue. An unjust decision would tend to perpetuate discord instead of removing it. No better contribution can, therefore, be made to the cause of peace than the education of American public opinion regarding the issues which tend to cause division among the nations.

One of the most important of these is the Adriatic question. In the following pages I have tried to set down for the readers of the "Advocate of Peace through Justice" a *historique* of the question and the various factors which go to make it up.—G. G.-S.)

ONE of the chief difficulties of the reconstruction period which has followed the World War has been the question of territorial distribution. The whole of Central Europe has been thrown into the melting pot and a redistribution of territories and frontiers on a large scale has been undertaken. Two entirely new States have been created, Czechoslovakia and Poland, while two others, Serbia and Rumania, have had their territories immensely increased, their populations being in each case more than tripled.

The entrance into the family of nations of new members of this importance was bound to be of the deepest interest to their neighbors. In some cases the interest was complicated by a certain amount of fear and distrust. Certain questions which had been latent suddenly became acute; others which had not even existed were called into being. Political and economic problems have been created on every side, some of which will test the statesmanship of the men in charge of the destinies of Europe to an extraordinary degree.

One of these problems which I propose to lay before the readers of the "Advocate of Peace through Justice" is the question of the Adriatic. Ever since the armistice this question has been in the forefront of the discussions